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The “Mental” (*Mānasa*) Self and Mānasa the Creator in the *Bhrgubharadvājasamvāda* (*Mahābhārata* 12.175–185)

Kenji TAKAHASHI

1. Introduction

In the dialogue between Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja (*Bhrgubharadvājasamvāda*, BhBhS) found in *Mahābhārata* (MBh) 12.175–185, Bhṛgu teaches that the Self exists as Fire or Wind in one’s head (MBh 12.178). Bharadvāja is deeply skeptical about Bhṛgu’s teaching and harbors serious doubt about the idea of the Self as such. After questioning the continuity of the Self after death (MBh 12.179.1–180.10; cf. Takahashi [2019b]), Bharadvāja continues his argument by saying that if the mind (*manas*) controlled perception and was the agent of joy and so on, then there would be no need for the Individual Self (*jīva*) (MBh 12.180.11ff.). In reply to this, Bhṛgu explains that the Inner Self, said to be “mental” (*mānasa*), governs the perception of sensory objects. This discourse further contains two accounts of the creation of the universe by a deity named Mānasa (Account I [MBh 12.175.11–37] and Account II [MBh 12.176.2–4]), as well as another account of creation in which neither Mānasa nor any other directing deity is mentioned (Account III [MBh 12.176.6–17]).

The BhBhS is subdivided into the following sections: three different versions of creation (175–176); the five elements of the movable and immovable beings (177); the Self as Fire (178); Bharadvāja’s question (179); discussions of the Self as Fire (180); and *varṇadharma* and *āśramadharma* (181–185). The BhBhS is partly parallel to MBh 3.203 in the dialogue between a righteous hunter and Kauśika (*Dharmavyādhakauśikasamvāda* in MBh 3.198–206, DhKS).¹ MBh 12.178 is parallel to MBh 3.203.13–30b and MBh 12.180.23–29 to MBh 3.203.30c–35. The DhKS records only the presentation of the Self as Fire or Breath, and does not contain any corresponding questions, discussions on the “mental” Self, or accounts of creation. A comparison of the two versions indicates that the redactor(s) of the BhBhS added Bharadvāja’s questions, Bhṛgu’s further elaboration of the Self in MBh 12.179.1–180.22, and the descriptions of creation (MBh 12.175–177) to a hitherto unknown common source on which the two versions are based (cf. Takahashi [2019b: 1055]). This paper attempts to analyze the sense in which the Self can be regarded as “mental” (*mānasa*) in the BhBhS, and how the microcosmic discussions in MBh 12.179–180 are related to the

¹ I would like to thank James L. Fitzgerald for making me aware of this parallel relationship between the BhBhS and the DhKS.

cosmogonies found in MBh 12.175–177.

2. Internal Fire or Wind as the Self

Bharadvāja asks Bhṛgu how Fire and Wind function in one's body (MBh 12.178.1). Bhṛgu replies:

MBh 12.178.3–4 (cf. MBh 3.203.15a–d, 16c–f)
 śrito mūrdhānam agnis tu śarīram paripālayan /
 prāṇo mūrdhani cāgnau ca vartamāno viceṣṭate // 3 //

Fire, on its part, is located in the head, protecting the body. Breath, existing in the head and in Fire, moves [throughout the body].

sa jantuḥ sarvabhūtātmā puruṣaḥ sa sanātanāḥ /
 mano buddhir ahamkāro bhūtāni viṣayāś ca saḥ // 4 //

It (Breath) is the living being, the Self of all beings. It is eternal Puruṣa. It is the mind, intellect, I-awareness, the elements, and sensory objects.

Verse 3 conceives the head as the central part of the body where Fire and Breath abide,² although the heart is generally considered to be the seat of the Self in Ancient India (cf. Olivelle [2006]). Frauwallner [1925: 60] believes verse 4 is a later interpolation because the Sāṃkhyan doctrine appears only sporadically in the BhBhS; however, the incongruity in content does not prove that this verse is unoriginal. The fact that the DhKS also has a corresponding verse (MBh 3.203.16c–f) indicates that this verse indeed appears in the common source upon which the BhBhS and the DhKS are based. Still, because none of these terms appear again in the shared part of the BhBhS and the DhKS, we can conjecture that this verse was intended to glorify Breath by casting it to Sāṃkhyan terms, and the BhBhS did not intend to expound on these terms. From verse 5 onwards, Bhṛgu explains the roles that the five Breaths (*prāṇa*, *samāna*, *apāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*) and digestive Fire play in one's body. At the end of the chapter, Bhṛgu concludes his discussion:

MBh 12.178.16c–17 (cf. MBh 3.203.28c–f, 30ab)
 jitaklamāsanā dhīrā mūrdhany ātmānam ādadhuḥ // 16cd //

² Izawa [2020] demonstrates that in the liturgical descriptions of the Agnicayana ritual, severed heads that are to be placed under the altar are thought to be deprived of *indriyas* or *prāṇas*, and the texts ordain to restore the seven *prāṇas* by ritual actions. In this context, however, we have to note that the *prāṇas* do not necessarily refer to the five or ten Breaths but most likely refer to a group of the vital functions whose first member is the Breath (elliptical plural). cf. also Izawa [2018].

The wise who conquered fatigue and mastered seated postures placed the Self in the head.

*evam sarveṣu vihitah prāṇāpāneṣu dehinām /
tasmin sthito nityam agnih sthālyām iva samāhitah // 17 //*

In this way, Fire,³ which is disposed in all the *prāṇas* and the *apāṇas* of the embodied beings, always stays there (in the head), like [a fire] placed in a cauldron.

In the DhKS, MBh 3.203.30ab, which corresponds to MBh 12.178.17cd, is immediately followed by the statement that identifies Fire with the Self (MBh 3.203.30c *ātmānam tam vijānīhi*). In the case of the BhBhS, however, long discussions between Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja concerning the validity of the Self as Fire or Wind (MBh 12.179.1–180.22) intervene between MBh 12.178.17 and MBh 12.180.23a which corresponds to MBh 3.203.30c. Consequently, this identification of Fire and the Self is not evident from Bhṛgu’s discussion in MBh 12.178.

Another interpretative problem in Bhṛgu’s presentation is the distinction between Fire and Breath/Wind. The functions of Fire and Wind seem to coincide with those of each other: Breath is considered to constitute the essence of a human being (MBh 12.178.4), and Fire also appears to be identified with the Self (MBh 12.178.16c–17, MBh 12.180.23a); both Fire and Breath are located in the head (MBh 12.178.3). Still, the description that Breath is located in the head and in Fire (MBh 12.178.3c *prāṇo mūrdhani cāgnau*) suggests that there is a slight distinction between the two, though from the above description, it is not quite clear which one is superior to the other. Bharadvāja seems to understand the Self as both Fire and Wind because he poses objections to the ideas of both the Self as Wind and the Self as Fire (MBh 12.179.1–2). The intention of the shared part of the BhBhS and the DhKS could have been to conflate the doctrine of Breath with that of Internal Fire.

On the other hand, when answering Bharadvāja’s criticism, Bhṛgu consistently regards the Self as Fire: he does not offer any response to Bharadvāja’s contention that if Wind were something active, the Individual Self would be meaningless. Moreover, Bhṛgu identifies the Individual Self as Fire and thinks that Fire supports the Breaths (MBh 12.180.7ab *prāṇān dhārayate hy agnih*

³ Because the digestive Fire is said to be placed in the middle of the *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* in verse 10 (*apānaprāṇayor madhye prāṇāpānasamāhitah [...] samyak pacati pāvakah*), I understand that the subject of 17ab is Fire, which is mentioned in 17cd. Alternatively, it is also possible to interpret that the subject of 17ab is *ātman* “the Self” mentioned in the immediately preceding verse (*ātmānam* in 16d).

sa jīva upadhāryatām). As argued earlier, Bharadvāja's refutations and Bhṛgu's answers found in MBh 12.179.1–180.22 were most likely added to the common source of the BhBhS and the DhKS. Therefore, the understanding of the Self as Fire in MBh 12.180.7ab may not reflect the intention of the shared part of the BhBhS and the DhKS (MBh 12.178).

3. Bharadvāja's Questions and Bhṛgu's Replies in MBh 12.179.1–180.10⁴

Bharadvāja is deeply skeptical of what Bhṛgu preaches. The purport of Bharadvāja's objection against Bhṛgu is that if the Self were identified with Fire or Wind, at the time of death, it would dissolve into Fire or Wind outside the human body, and the continuity of the Self would be interrupted. Bhṛgu first answers Bharadvāja's question by saying that the Self in the body does not perish, just as Fire does not perish even when the firewood is burned up (MBh 12.180.1–2). Nevertheless, his answer is easily refuted by Bharadvāja because once the firewood is burned up, there is no possibility that Fire will arise out of nothing (MBh 12.180.3–4). Then Bhṛgu says, even when the firewood is fully consumed, Fire continues to exist, but it is not perceived. It follows Space, so it is deprived of its support (MBh 12.180.5). Similarly, when the Self abandons its body, it continues to exist, but it is not perceived because it is very subtle (MBh 12.180.6). At the moment of death, Fire as the Self and Wind, which supports Fire, dissolves into Space, and the corporeal part of the body (Water and Earth) dissolves into Earth. Therefore, the Self becomes invisible, but it does not follow that it perishes (MBh 12.180.8–10).

4. Bharadvāja's Further Doubts

Bharadvāja further asks Bhṛgu what the Individual Self is like if a body consists of the five elements (MBh 12.180.11–12). He argues that when one's body is being destroyed, the Individual Self is not observed (MBh 12.180.13). Then, Bharadvāja offers a potential opposition against himself from Bhṛgu's side:⁵

MBh 12.180.14

yady ajīvam̄ śarīram̄ tu pañcabhūtasamanvitam /

⁴ See Takahashi [2019b] for an analysis of this part of the text.

⁵ I follow Fitzgerald's [1980: 374] interpretation here. At first sight, it is difficult to attribute this verse to Bharadvāja because it takes the form of a question and Bharadvāja answers to it in verse 15. In fact, the bulk of manuscripts in the Southern recension attribute verse 14 to Bhṛgu: Before 14, manuscripts D₇ T_{1, 2} G_{1, 3, 6} M_{1, 5, 7} insert *bhṛgur uvāca* "Bhṛgu said," and the same manuscripts insert *bharadvāja uvāca* (*bhāradvāja uvāca* in T₂) after 14. For the issue of the speaker attributions in the Southern transmission, see Takahashi [2021:60–61]. In this paper, the manuscript information is taken from the Poona Critical Edition (Sukthankar et al. [1936–1966], hereafter PCE).

śārīre mānase duḥkhe kas tāṁ vedayate rujam //

If a body is devoid of an Individual Self and is endowed with [only] the five elements, then who experiences the pain of the physical [and] mental suffering?

Bharadvāja then answers this potential opposition:

MBh 12.180.15

*śṛṇoti kathitam jīvah karṇābhyaṁ na śṛṇoti tat /
maharṣe manasi vyagre tasmāj jīvo nirarthakah //*

The Individual Self hears what is told.⁶ [The Individual Self] does not hear it (what is told) with two ears, O great seer, when the *manas* is distracted. Therefore, the Individual Self is unnecessary.

After stressing that one does not perceive anything when the *manas* is not active (MBh 12.180.16–17), Bharadvāja questions who is the experiencer of joy and so on (MBh 12.180.18). The purport of Bharadvāja’s argument is to point out an undesired consequence in Bhrgu’s statements, namely that one can dispense with the Individual Self if perception can be explained by the *manas*. This does not mean that Bharadvāja himself advocates the notion of selflessness, although it is not impossible that the redactor(s) of the BhBhS had the Buddhist idea of selflessness in mind.

5. Bhrgu’s Reply to Bharadvāja’s Question

In reply, Bhrgu answers that the Inner Self is the true experiencer of perception:

MBh 12.180.19

*na pañcasādhāraṇam atra kiṃcic charīram eko vahate 'ntarātmā /
sa vetti gandhāṁś ca rasāñ śrutim ca sparśam ca rūpam ca guṇāś ca ye 'nye
// 19 //
guṇāś] Š1 K1, 2, 4, 6, 7 V1 B0, 6, 9 Ds1 D2, 4, 5, 7, 9 T2 G1-3, 6 M1, 5-7; guṇāṁś B7, 8 Da3,
4 Dn1, 4 Ds2 D3, 6, 8; gaṇāś T1.*

⁶ Fitzgerald [1980: 374] translates verse 15 as “(But you may say,) ‘The soul hears what is said.’ But, *maharṣi*, one does not hear with the ears if the mind is distracted, and so the soul is superfluous.” He interprets pāda a as a continuation of a potential question from Bhrgu’s side. As the statement in pāda also asserts the existence of an Individual Self, Fitzgerald’s rendering is one of the possible ways of interpretation. In the above translation, however, I posit that pāda a (*śṛṇoti kathitam jīvah*) and pādas bc (*karṇābhyaṁ na śṛṇoti tat maharṣe manasi vyagre*) draw a contrast between the state of the Individual Self with functioning *manas* and that with distracted *manas*. The purport of the verse would thus be that if it is the *manas* that determines whether the Individual Self perceives the sensory objects, then the Individual Self is superfluous.

There is nothing equal to the five [elements] in this regard. The Inner Self alone moves the body. It perceives smells, tastes, sound, touch, and appearance. Whatever other properties [there are, it perceives them].

For the syntactical interpretation of pādas ab, I follow Fitzgerald [1980: 374]’s translation (“In it there is nothing based upon the five. The single inner ātman carries the body.”).⁷

Nīlakanṭha, a seventeenth-century commentator on the MBh, analyzes pādas ab as follows:

Bhāratabhavadīpa ad MBh 12.180.19 (MBh 12.187.19 in Kinjawadekar’s edition. Part 5, p. 324, ll. 28–33)

*yathā śrotrādīnām śabdādigrāhakatvena grāhyasajātīyaguṇāśrayatvena
ākāśādirūpatvam, evam mano ’pi sarvaguṇagrāhakatvāt sarvaguṇāśraya-
tvena pañcabhautikam / atas tan na kiṃcid bhūtebhyo ’nyat tattvāntaram
pañcasādhāraṇatvāt / atas tan na śarīranirvāhakam, kim tu ekaḥ
antarātmaiva śarīram sthūlasūkṣmabhedena dvividham vahate cālayati /*

The the faculty of hearing etc. have the nature of Space etc. on account of their being a locus of properties similar to their objects of perception, because they are the perceivers of sound etc. Similarly, the *manas* also consists of the five [elements] on account of being a locus of all the [five] properties, because it is the perceiver of all [the objects of perception]. Therefore, it (the *manas*) is not another principle different from the elements, because of the equality with the five [elements]. Therefore, it (the *manas*) is not the mover of the body, but the Inner Self alone moves (*vahate*) the body, [in other words,] makes [the body] move, in two ways, by the division of gross and subtle [ways].

Interestingly, Nīlakanṭha interprets the *manas* as being equal to the five elements

⁷ Deussen & Strauss [1906: 160] translate pādas ab as “In the case of all, the body which is composed of the five elements is not able to do anything, and only the Inner Self governs it (= the body, supplied by the present author)” (“Bei dem allen vermag der aus den fünf Elementen zusammengefügte Leib nichts, und nur der innere Ātman regiert ihn”). It appears that they understand pādas ab as *na pañcasādhāraṇam* (nom.) *atra kiṃcit* (acc.) *śarīram* (nom.) (*vahate?*), *śarīram* (acc.) *eko vahate ’ntarātmā*. They interpret *śarīram* both as nominative and as accusative, which is not impossible but unnatural. The reason why Deussen & Strauss relate *pañcasādhāraṇa* with *śarīra* appears to be that these two words are used in apposition in MBh 12.179.7ab (see above). Motegi [1995: 71], on the other hand, translates the same part as “The single internal self does not move any body whose basis is the five kinds” (五種を基体とするいかなる身体も单一なる内的自我〔antarātmā〕は動かすことはない), suggesting that the Inner Self is not involved in physical activities, but this interpretation does not seem to be plausible because the immediately following pādas cd say that it is the Inner Self that governs perception.

(*pañcasādhāraṇa*). If we follow Nīlakanṭha’s understanding, we can paraphrase pādas ab as *na pañcasādhāraṇam [manah] kiṃcic charīram vahate, eko [śarīram] vahate ’ntarātmā*.

The word *pañcasādhāraṇa* is puzzling. *Sādhāraṇa* originally means “having the same basis,” “common,” “common to,” and it can mean “equal to, similar to” (cf. Böhtlingk & Roth [1855–1875. VII: 911]; *Harivamśa* App. I.18.873 *mṛtyusādhāraṇe rane*). This word is used in apposition to *śarīra* in MBh 12.179.7ab, in which Bharadvāja poses a doubt on the concept of the Individual Self (MBh 12.179.7ab *pañcasādhāraṇe hy asmin śarīre jīvitam kutah* “If this body is equal to the five [elements], from where does the life [come into being]?”). One could translate *pañcasādhāraṇa* literally as “having the same basis as that of the five [elements],” but the common basis of the five elements and the body is not specified in the text. Considering the fact that the body is also called *pañcātmaka* “whose essence is the five [elements]” in the following verse 20, I translated *sādhāraṇa* as “equal to,” which is also supported by Nīlakanṭha’s understanding (*atas tan na kiṃcid bhūtebhyo ’nyat tattvāntaram pāñca-sādhāraṇatvāt*).

It is true that the *manas* is related to the five elements as the perceiver of the properties of the five elements in the way that Nīlakanṭha explains, but the association of the *manas* with the five elements does not prove their identity. In fact, the BhBhS neither equates the *manas* with the five elements nor states that the *manas* consists of the five elements. Considering the fact that the word *pañcasādhāraṇa* is used in apposition to the body (*śarīra*) in MBh 12.179.7ab, it appears natural to understand that MBh 12.180.19ab is intended to mean that what moves the body is not the physical body itself but the Self. Still, Nīlakanṭha’s explanation gives an answer to Bharadvāja’s question of who the experiencer is: it is not the *manas*, but the Inner Self.

Considering these circumstances, I have avoided interpreting what is modified by the word *pañcasādhāraṇa* as the *manas*, but instead have translated *na pañcasādhāraṇam ... kiṃcit* more generally, as “nothing that is equal to the five [elements]”—so that one could construe the *manas* as one of the entities that are said to be “equal to the five [elements]” (*pañcasādhāraṇa*).

Bhṛgu continues:

MBh 12.180.20–21

pañcātmake pañcagunapradarśī sa sarvagātrānugato ’ntarātmā /
sa vetti duḥkhāni sukhāni cātra tadviprayogāt tu na vetti dehāḥ // 20 //

This Inner Self perceives the five qualities within [the body] whose essence is the five [elements] and follows all the limbs. It perceives suffering and

happiness here (in this body). But, when the body is separated from the [Inner Self], it does not perceive [suffering and happiness].

*yadā na rūpaṁ na sparśo noṣmabhāvaś ca pāvake /
tadā sānte śarīrāgnau deham tyaktvā sa naśyati // 21 //*

deham tyaktvā sa naśyati] Š₁ K_{1, 2} B_{8PC(marg.)} M_{1, 5-7}; dehatyāge na naśyati⁸ K_{4, 6, 7} V₁ B_{0, 6, 7, 8AC, 9} Da_{3, 4} Dn_{1, 4} Ds_{1, 2} D₂₋₉; deham tyaktvā na naśyati T_{1, 2} G₁₋₃.

When there is no appearance, touch, or warmth in Fire, then, as the Fire of the body is extinguished, [the Inner Self] leaves the body, and it (the body) perishes.⁹

Bhṛgu's words do not seem to answer Bharadvāja's doubt directly. Although Bharadvāja argues that one does not perceive anything when *manas* is not active, Bhṛgu stresses only that the agent of perception is the Inner Self.

MBh 12.180.22

*ammayam sarvam evedam āpo mūrtih śarīriṇām /
tatrātmā mānasō brahmā sarvabhūteṣu lokakṛt //*

⁸ PCE reports this as *dehatyāgena naśyati*.

⁹ The referent of *sa* in pāda d is difficult to decide. As the word *agni* “Fire” and *deha* “body” appear in the locative and accusative, respectively, the referent of *sa* could be *antarātman* “the Inner Self” in verse 20. However, if interpreted in this way, this verse would deny the continuity of the Inner Self after death (“after leaving the body, the Inner Self perishes”). This position is opposite to that of Bhṛgu, who holds that the Self does not perish at the time of death (MBh 12.180.2ab *na śarīrāśrito jīvas tasmin naṣṭe praṇaśyati* “When one’s body perishes, the Individual Self that dwells in it does not perish”). In order to resolve this difficulty, Motegi [1995: 71] interprets the subject of the absolute clause (*deham tyaktvā*) as being the Inner Self, and that of the main clause (*sa naśyati*) as the body (*deha*): “[the inner self] abandons the body, and [the body] perishes” ([靈魂は] 身体を捨て、それ [身体] は滅するのである). Although it is not syntactically preferable, I follow Motegi [1995: 71] because his understanding mirrors 20d *tadviprayogāt tu na vetti dehah* “But, when the body is separated from the [Inner Self], it does not perceive [suffering and happiness].” It would be possible to take the subject of this sentence as the Inner Self and render *naś* as “disappear,” but, because Bhṛgu himself uses this word to denote complete annihilation of existence, this interpretation is not adopted here. Another possible solution is found in manuscripts K_{4, 6, 7} V₁ B_{0, 6, 7, 8AC, 9} Da_{3, 4} Dn_{1, 4} Ds_{1, 2} D₂₋₉ (*dehatyāge na naśyati* “when [the Inner Self] abandons the body, it does not perish”) and T G_{1-3, 6} (*deham tyaktvā na naśyati* “[the Inner Self] does not perish [even] when it abandons the body”). They render pādas d as a negative sentence so that it reflects Bhṛgu’s argument. In this case, however, it would be difficult to choose these readings because the reading *deham tyaktvā sa naśyati* is supported both by the core of the Northern-Western manuscripts (Š₁ K_{1, 2}) and by the Malayalam manuscripts (M_{1, 5-7}), whose agreement is considered to be original in many cases. Alternatively, one could attribute this verse to Bharadvāja, who is skeptical of the continuity of the Self after death, but because this point is not revealed in the subsequent discussions, this interpretation is not adopted here.

This whole [world] consists of Water. Water is the substance for the embodied beings. In it (*mūrti*), the **mental** Self is Brahmán,¹⁰ the Creator of the world within all the beings.

This “mental” Self seems to be identical with the Inner Self mentioned in verse 19. I shall discuss how this verse could provide an answer to Bharadvāja’s question after having a look at Bhṛgu’s full discourse.

In the following passage (MBh 12.180.23–29), Bhṛgu teaches the Self’s distinction from the body, its imperishableness, and the difficulty of its perception. These verses correspond to MBh 3.203.30c–35 in the DhKS.

In MBh 12.179.1–180.18, Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja use only the word *jīva*, but we find that in MBh 12.180.19–30, Bhṛgu uses three other different words for the Self: *antarātman* “the Inner Self,” *ātman* “the Self” and *kṣetrajña/kṣetravid* “the Knower of the Field.” The Individual Self (*jīva*) appears to be slightly inferior to the Self (*ātman*), which is identified with the Knower of the Field (*kṣetrajña*):

MBh 12.180.23–25 (cf. MBh 3.203.30–33, MBh 12.233.18–20)
*ātmānam tam vijānīhi sarvalokahitātmakam /
 tasmin yaḥ saṃśrito dehe hy abbindur iva puṣkare // 23 //*

Know that he (the mental Self as Mānasa) is the Self, whose essence is salutary for the entire world. It abides in this body like a drop of water on a lotus.

*kṣetrajñām tam vijānīhi nityām lokahitātmakam /
 tamo rajaś ca sattvām ca viddhi jīvagunān imān // 24 //*

Know that it (*ātman*) is the eternal Knower of the Field, whose essence is salutary for the world. *Tamas, rajas, and sattva*—know these as the properties of the Individual Self.

*sacetanām jīvagunām vadanti sa ceṣṭate ceṣṭayate ca sarvam /
 tataḥ param kṣetravidām vadanti prāvartayad yo bhuvanāni saptā // 25 //*

They say that the property of the Individual Self is animate: It (the Individual Self) moves and makes everything move. They say that what is higher than it (the Individual Self) is the Knower of the Field who has set the seven worlds in motion.

Pāda 24a identifies *ātman* with *kṣetrajña*. The fact that the similar adjectives *sarvalokahitātmaka* and *lokahitātmaka* modify *ātman* (23b) and *kṣetrajña* (24b)

¹⁰ In this paper, I use the accent in order to distinguish the masculine deity (Brahmán) and the neuter principle (Brāhmaṇ), which are often written as Brahmā and Brahman, respectively.

respectively in neighboring verses also indicates that *ātman* and *kṣetrajñā* are considered to be identical. Verse 25 suggests that *jīva* is something different from *ātman* and *kṣetrajñā*.¹¹ The word *jīva* here refers to the aspect of the Self in the realm of actual life, whereas *kṣetrajñā* (= *ātman*) is superior to *jīva* and it can be identified with the Creator of the world (25cd). In the above translation, I interpret *tataḥ* in pāda c as referring to *jīva* or *jīvaguṇa*. Grammatically, it is possible to understand *tataḥ* as related to *yo* in pāda d; pādas cd could thus be translated as “Know that the Knower of the Field is higher than the one who has set the seven worlds in motion,” but this interpretation is not adopted here for it is difficult to assume that the Self or the Knower of the Field is conceived superior to the Creator.

After stressing the difficulty of perceiving the Self (26–29), Bhṛgu concludes his teaching:

MBh 12.180.30

*mānaso 'gnih śarīreṣu jīva ity abhidhīyate /
sr̥ṣṭih prajāpater eṣā bhūtādhyātmaviniścaye //*

The mental Fire in the bodies is called “the Individual Self.” [The doctrine of] this Prajāpati’s creation [is taught] for the ascertainment of the elements and what concerns the Self.

Bhṛgu’s discourse on the Self ends here, but how can his words be an answer to Bharadvāja’s questions?

6. Frauwallner’s Interpretation of *Mānasa*

Although the BhBhS has mostly been overlooked in previous studies, Frauwallner [1925] is an important exception to the general lack of interest in this text. Frauwallner [1925: 63] comments on MBh 12.180.30 as follows:

We see that the old idea of *agnir vaiśvānarah*, which also forms the basis for the doctrine of Śāṇḍilya and Yājñavalkya in the older Upaniṣads, is presented here [in the BhBhS]. As there [in the doctrine of Śāṇḍilya and Yājñavalkya], the *ātman* is considered to be the one perceiving; and when it is explicitly called *mānaso 'gnih* here, we may well suppose that the *ātman* coincides with *manas* here as in the Śāṇḍilya doctrine. (Translated from German by the present author)

Chāndogyopaniṣad 3.14.2–3 says, “[It is] made of *manas* (*manomaya*); *prāṇas*

¹¹ See Johnston [1937: 44–45] for other passages in Upaniṣads and the MBh where *jīva* as an individual transmigrating soul is contrasted to *ātman* or *kṣetrajñā*.

are its body; luminosity is its appearance; its plan comes true; Space is its essence; it is endowed with all actions, all desires, all smells and all tastes; it has reached above this everything; it neither speaks nor pays any heed. This Self (*ātman*) of mine [exists] within the heart ...”¹² (*manomayah prāṇaśarīro bhārūpah satyasaṃkalpa ākāśātmā sarvakarmā sarvakāmaḥ sarvagandhaḥ sarvarasah sarvam idam abhy ātto*¹³ ‘vāky anādarah // 2 // esa ma ātmāntar hrdaye ...) The adjectives *satyasaṃkalpa* ... *sarvakarmā* *sarvakāmaḥ* *sarvagandhaḥ* *sarvarasah* explain why the Self can be regarded as made of *manas*: the Self governs the intentions, actions, desire and the perception of sensations, functions that are generally ascribed to the *manas*.

Likewise, in the BhBhS also, the Individual Self, which is identified with *mānasa-agni* (30), is said to govern the perception of sensory objects (19–20b), which is often attributed to the *manas*. Although Frauwallner does not explicitly say so, it appears that he takes *mānasa* in the BhBhS as a synonym for *manomaya* “made of *manas*” in the Śāṇḍilya’s doctrine. Therefore, Frauwallner’s interpretation does somehow provide an answer to Bharadvāja’s question: the Individual Self is not superfluous. It coincides with the *manas* as it performs the functions of the *manas*, such as the perception of objects and so on.

7. *Mānasa* “Mental” vis à vis *Śarīra* “Physical”¹⁴

Frauwallner’s [1925] interpretation of the Self as functioning as the *manas* seems appealing when we look only at the expressions *tatrātmā mānaso* in 22c and *mānaso ’gniḥ śarīreṣu* in 30a, but it is not without its problems: first, the text does not identify the Self with the *manas* elsewhere in the BhBhS, apart from one dubious passage (MBh 12.178.4, see Section 2) where Breath is identified with the Self, the *manas*, and other Sāṃkhyan principles such as *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and others. This passage is too weak to serve as evidence that the BhBhS considers the functions of the Self to overlap with those of the *manas*. Secondly, verse 22 as a whole does not seem to be intended as a direct answer to the problem of the *manas*, and it is difficult to decide from the neighboring contexts what verse 30 intends by its use of the word *mānasa*.

In verse 19, Bhṛgu stresses that the Inner Self moves the body and governs the perception of objects. Verses 20 and 21 say that the Inner Self in the body experiences happiness and suffering and that when the Self leaves the body, the body dies and does not perceive anything. In this way, verses 19 to 21 seem to

¹² The above translation is based on Olivelle [1998: 209]’s rendering.

¹³ Gotō [1996: 98–97, n. 6] argues that *ātta* is a Prākṛt form of *āptā*, which is found in the parallel passage in *Śatapathabrahmaṇa* 10.6.3.2 (*abhy āptām*).

¹⁴ I would like to thank Francesco Sferra for his suggestion for this section.

presuppose a distinction between the Self and the body. In 22ab, Bhṛgu rather abruptly remarks that everything is made of Water (22a: *ammayaṁ sarvam evedam*) and that Water is the substance for embodied beings (22b: *āpo mūrtih śarīriṇām*). Bhṛgu then says that *ātman* is *mānasa*, Brahmān, who is the Creator of the world within all the beings (22cd: *tatrātmā mānaso brahmā sarvabhūteṣu lokakṛt*). In the light of its preceding context, verse 22 can best be understood as clarifying the distinction between the body and the Self: whereas the substantial form of the body consists of Water, the Self is “mental,” most likely in the sense that it is devoid of substantial forms, and the Self is identical with the Creator. The relationship between Bhṛgu’s discourse in MBh 12.180 and the creation accounts in the BhBhS will be investigated in the following sections.

The BhBhS occasionally refers to the distinction between what is physical or substantial and what is mental or insubstantial. At the moment of death, Bhṛgu explains that the Wind in one’s body enters Space, and Fire as the Self follows the Wind. Finally, the oneness of Space, Wind, and Fire ensues (MBh 12.180.7–9, cf. Takahashi [2019: 1057]). Then Bhṛgu says that Space, Wind, and Fire should be considered as devoid of substantial form (*amūrti*), whereas Water and Earth are substantial (*mūrta*).¹⁵ As Bhṛgu regards the Self as Fire, this distinction between Water as substantial and the Self as insubstantial found in MBh 12.180.22 accords with the classification of the five elements into the substantial and the insubstantial in MBh 12.180.7–10. In MBh 12.180.14cd, Bharadvāja asks who perceives the affliction in bodily and mental suffering (*śārīre mānase duḥkhe kas tāṁ vedayate rujam*; see Section 4). Although this statement is not made by Bhṛgu, MBh 12.180.14cd also suggests that *mānasa* is used in contrast to *śārīra* “physical.”

It is difficult to decide precisely what the *mānasa* of verse 30 means. It appears equally possible to understand *mānasa* in 30a as “coinciding with the *manas*” or as “mental” in contrast to “physical.”

An interpretative problem in understanding *mānasa* as “mental” or “insubstantial” is that if interpreted this way, Bhṛgu’s replies do not directly answer Bharadvāja’s point that there is no need to postulate the Self if the *manas* governs the perception and so on. Bhṛgu’s model of a human existence focuses mainly on the five elements and the Self and does not attach great importance to the *manas*: Bhṛgu refers to the clearness of *citta* in the process of attaining the

¹⁵ MBh 12.180.10: *yatra khaṇi tatra pavanas tatrāgnir yatra mārutah / amūrtayas te vijñeyā āpo mūrtās tathā kṣitiḥ //* One could translate *mūrti* as “material form,” but the difference between the *amūrti* elements (Space, Wind, and Fire) and *mūrta* elements (Water and Earth) seems to lie not in whether a particular element is “material,” because *amūrti* elements are also material, but in whether it has a certain definite tangible form.

imperishable happiness in MBh 12.180.29,¹⁶ but apart from this passage, the dubious identification of the Wind with the *manas* in MBh 12.178.4, and the word *mānasa* in MBh 12.180.22, 30, Bhrgu makes no mention of the *manas* or its synonyms in his teaching of the Self. Considering these circumstances, we could surmise that Bhrgu’s answer to Bharadvāja’s question concerning the *manas* is obscure because he does not regard the *manas* as one of the constituents of a human being.

Frauwallner’s [1925] interpretation of *mānasa* also has its strong points: his interpretation solves the problem of the relationship between the Self and the *manas*; he traces the idea of the Self as consisting of the *manas* to the teachings of Śāṇḍilya in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*. Considering the relative merits of these two understandings of *mānasa*, I would like to leave both as possible interpretations.

Although our discussions of the word *mānasa* have so far been confined to a psychological level or the level of individual human existence, the BhBhS uses this word in a different meaning: it is the name of the Creator of this world. The identification of the Self with the Creator found in MBh 12.180.22cd suggests that the author of this passage also intended this second meaning.

8. Mānasa the Creator in *Mahābhārata* 12.175.11–37 (Account I)

The BhBhS has three different accounts of creation: Account I in MBh 12.175.11–37; Account II in MBh 12.176.2–4; and Account III in MBh 12.176.5–26. The first two hold that the primordial deity is Mānasa, whereas the last one does not mention any directing deity. The following sections examine how Mānasa is represented in Accounts I and II.

At the request of Bharadvāja, Bhrgu relates the creation of the universe by Mānasa:

MBh 12.175.11–14

*mānaso nāma vikhyātah śrutapūrvō maharśibhiḥ /
anādinidhano devas tathābhedyo ’jarāmarah // 11 //*

[There exists] a god, who is known by the name Mānasa, whom great sages have heard from ancient times, without beginning and end, inseparable, and beyond aging and death.

*avyakta iti vikhyātah śāśvato ’thākṣaro ’vyayah /
yataḥ srṣṭāni bhūtāni jāyante ca mriyanti ca // 12 //*

¹⁶ MBh 12.180.29: *cittasya prasādena hitvā karma śubhāśubham / prasannātmātmani sthitvā sukham akṣayam aśnute //*

He is known as “the unmanifest,” eternal, imperishable, and undecaying. Out of him,¹⁷ beings are emitted, and [within him] they are born and die.

*so śṛjat prathamam̄ devo mahāntam̄ nāma nāmataḥ /
ākāśam̄ iti vikhyātam̄ sarvabhūtadharah̄ prabhuh̄ // 13 //*

The divine being, the bearer of all beings, the Lord, first emitted what is called “the Large” (*mahant* m.) by name, which is known as “Space.”

*ākāśād abhavad vāri salilād agnimārutau /
agnimārutasamyogāt tataḥ samabhavan mahī // 14 //*

From Space, Water came into being, and from Water, Fire and Wind [came into being]. Then from the mixture of Fire and Wind, Earth came into being.

It should be noted that the order of the five elements (Space, Water, Wind, Fire, Earth) is slightly different from the most common order in Indian thought (Space, Wind, Water, Fire, Earth).

From Earth, Mānasa emits a divine lotus from which Brahmán comes into being (MBh 12.175.15). This Brahmán is described as follows:

MBh 12.175.16
*ahamkāra iti khyātah sarvabhūtātmabhūtakṛt /
brahmā vai sumahātejā ya ete pañca dhātavah̄ //*

He (Brahmán) is known as *ahamkāra* and is the Self of all the beings as well

¹⁷ In the light of 1a-c (*kutah srṣṭam idam viśvam̄ jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam / pralaye ca kam abhyeti*), *yatas* in pāda c is interpreted as an ablative in the sense of “out of which,” and *yasmin* “into or within which” is supplied in pāda d. It is also possible to interpret *yatas* in the sense of “because of him, on account of him”; in this case, pādas cd could be translated as “On account of him, created beings are born and die.”

¹⁸ Manuscripts K_{6,7} Da₃ Dn_{1,4} Ds_{1,2} (Ds₁ marg.) D_{2-6,8,9} insert the following line after 13ab: *mahān sasarjāhamkāram sa cāpi bhagavān atha*. Verse 13 could thus be read as follows:

MBh 12.175.13*
*so śṛjat prathamam̄ devo mahāntam̄ nāma nāmataḥ /
mahān sasarjāhamkāram sa cāpi bhagavān atha /
ākāśam̄ iti vikhyātam̄ sarvabhūtadharah̄ prabhuh̄ //*

The god first emitted what is called “the Large” by name. The Large created *ahamkāra*. Then, the Lord, the Bearer of all the beings, [emitted] what is known as “Space.”

If read in this way, the creation process would be Mānasa → *mahant* → *ahamkāra* → Space. We can detect what Hacker [1961] called “Sāṃkhyization,” i.e., the correction of texts in accordance with the doctrines of Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s *Sāṃkhyakārikā* and its commentaries. It is also possible that this insertion was motivated by 21a, in which the Creator is said to be the Creator of *ahamkāra* (*ahamkārasya yah sraṣṭā*), which we shall examine below.

as the Creator of beings. Brahmán of immense glow is these five elements.

The compound *sarvabhūtātmabhūta* “the one who becomes the Self of all the beings” is used ten times in the MBh, so it might also be possible to read *sarvabhūtātmabhūtakṛt* in pāda b as a Tatpuruṣa compound, *sarvabhūtātmabhūtakṛt* “the Creator of the one who becomes the Self of all the beings.” However, I interpret this word as a Karmadhāraya compound *sarvabhūtātmabha-bhūtakṛt* in the light of MBh 12.180.22cd (*tatrātmā mānaso brahmā sarvabhūteṣu lokakṛt*). This passage suggests that Brahmán is the Self (*ātman*) within all the beings and, at the same time, the maker of the world. In this way, pāda b defines Brahmán on two different levels: as “the self of all the beings” (*sarvabhūtātman*) at the microcosmic level and as “the Creator of beings” (*bhūtakṛt*) at the macrocosmic level. Then, various parts of his body are identified with various elements of this world (MBh 12.175.17–19). Bhrgu continues:

MBh 12.175.20–21

*sa eva bhagavān viṣṇur ananta iti viśrutaḥ /
sarvabhūtātmabhūtastho durvijñeyo 'kṛtātmabhiḥ // 20 //*

No one but he is Lord Viṣṇu, who is widely heard as “the infinite.” He is the Self of all the beings and abides in beings. He is hard to be recognized by those who have not perfected their Selves.

*ahamkārasya yaḥ sraṣṭā sarvabhūtabhavāya vai /
yataḥ samabhavad viśvam prsto 'ham yad iha tvayā // 21 //*

The one who creates the *ahamkāra* in order to produce all the beings, and the one from whom the universe came into being — this is what you have asked to me about in this regard (i.e. the beginning of this world).

Verses 20 to 21 are confusing because 20ab (*sa eva viṣṇur*) seems to identify Viṣṇu with the lower Creator Brahmán; however, verse 21 says that Viṣṇu is the creator of *ahamkāra*, which is identified with Brahmán in verse 16, suggesting that Viṣṇu is higher than Brahmán. We can interpret verses 20–21 as intended to give a further glorify Brahmán by identifying him with Viṣṇu, but Bhrgu did not pay heed to the consistency with verse 16. Alternatively, it is also possible that “the creator of *ahamkāra*” in 21a refers to Mānasa, and consequently, 20ab identifies Viṣṇu with Mānasa, not with Brahmán.

It should be noted that the description of Brahmán arising from the lotus which Mānasa made from Earth in the BhBhS is reminiscent of the famous Vaiṣṇava myth that Brahmán was born from the lotus arising from the navel of Viṣṇu. This might be one of the underlying motivations for the identification the

creator, whether he is Brahmán or Mānasa, with Viṣṇu.

After discussing the size of the universe, Bhṛgu describes Brahmán as follows:

MBh 12.175.34

*tataḥ puṣkarataḥ srṣṭah sarvajño mūrtimān prabhuh /
brahmā dharmamayah pūrvah prajāpatir anuttamah //*

*pūrvah] Š₁ K_{1, 2, 4, 6} B_{0, 6-9} Dn_{1, 4} Ds_{1, 2} D₂ (both times), 3, 5, 8; pūrvam] K₇ V₁ D_{4, 6, 7,}
9 T_{1, 2} G_{1-3, 6} M_{1, 5-7}; pūrṇah] Da_{3, 4}.*

From the lotus, the omniscient, the lord endowed with a substantial form, Brahmán, consisting of virtue, primordial (*pūrva*), unsurpassed Prajāpati was emitted.

The word *pūrva* means “preceding,” “prior,” “ancient,” “first,” or “initial.” It is not clear which meaning Bhṛgu intends, and this word triggers Bharadvāja’s question:

MBh 12.175.35

*puṣkarād yadi sambhūto jyeṣṭham bhavati puṣkaram /
brahmāṇam pūrvajam cāha bhavān samdeha eva me //*

*eva] K_{6, 7} V₁ B_{0, 6-9} Da_{3, 4} Dn_{1, 4} Ds_{1, 2} D_{2, 3, 5-9} T_{1, 2} G_{1-3, 6} M_{1, 5-7}; esa Š₁ K_{1, 2,}
4.¹⁹*

If [Brahmán] came into being from the lotus, then the lotus is the oldest. You said that Brahmán was born first (*pūrvaja*). [This is] my very doubt.

Bharadvāja paraphrases *pūrva* as *jyeṣṭha* “oldest” and *pūrvaja* “first-born.” It is also possible that Bhṛgu’s intention to use this word in MBh 12.175.34 is to mark the antiquity of this deity (*pūrva* in the sense of “ancient”), not to specify the deity’s precise chronological position. I translate *pūrva* as “primordial” so that it can accommodate this semantic ambiguity. Bhṛgu answers:

MBh 12.175.36

*mānasasyeha yā mūrtir brahmatvam samupagatā /
tasyāsanavidhānārtham pr̄thivī padmam ucyate //*

The substantial form (*mūrti*) of Mānasa here (in this world) has obtained Brahmán-ness. In order to arrange a seat for him (Brahmán), Earth is called the lotus.

¹⁹ PCE reads *eva*, but *esa* in Š₁ K_{1, 2, 4} may be a better reading.

Bhṛgu’s explanation does not seem to answer Bharadvāja’s question clearly. It appears, however, that Bhṛgu intended to defend his remark that Brahmán is *pūrva* “primordial” by declaring that Brahmán partakes of the primordialness of Mānasa, who is truly the oldest in the universe, as its embodiment.

9. The Creator Mānasa in *Mahābhārata* 12.176.2–4 (Account II)

In MBh 12.176.2–4, Bhṛgu recapitulates the account of creation but in a different way:

MBh 12.176.2

*prajāvisargam vividhami mānaso manasāsyat /
saṃdhukṣaṇārtham bhūtānām sṛṣṭam prathamato jalam //*

Mānasa performed the manifold emission of creatures **with the *manas*.** Water was emitted first in order to animate beings.

This passage indicates that the Creator is called Mānasa (“deriving from *manas*” or “related to *manas*”) because he created various creatures with his *manas*. Gonda [1983] demonstrates that in Vedic creation accounts the *manas* represents the intention or determination of the primordial entity to create this world. According to *Taittirīyabrahmāṇa* (TB) 2.2.9, at the beginning of the world, the *asant* (the non-existent) made up its mind to exist (*máno 'kuruta syām iti*). After it practiced austerity, there arose smoke, sea, and others; then finally, Prajāpati arose. Then Prajāpati created this world (TB 2.2.9.1). Interestingly, the concluding part of this passage states that *manas* was emitted from the *asant* (TB 2.2.9.10 *ásatō 'dhi máno 'syjyata*). Although Gonda [1983: 25–26] does not pay heed to the expression *máno 'kuruta* in TB 2.2.9.1, it contains a wordplay: it is used as an idiom “to make up one’s mind, to decide,” and, at the same time, it denotes that the *asant* literally “made” *manas*. This interpretation is confirmed by the concluding statement that *manas* was emitted from the *asant* (TB 2.2.9.10). This TB passage shows two aspects of *manas*: as the volition or decision of the primordial being but at the same time as the primordial entity in the process of creation. The idea of *manas* as the primordial intention to create this world, whether it belongs to a deity or an abstract entity, is inherited in the cosmogonies found in MBh 12.224–225 and in *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 1 (cf. Bodewitz 1995, Takahashi 2019c: 130–132).

Bhṛgu then argues that this world is supported by Water:

MBh 12.176.3–4

*yat prāṇāḥ sarvabhūtānām vardhante yena ca prajāḥ /
parityaktāś ca naśyanti tenedam sarvam āvṛtam // 3 //*

That which is the lives of all beings, by which the creatures grow, and being abandoned by which they perish, this whole [world] is covered by it (Water).

*pr̥thivī parvatā meghā mūrtimantaś ca ye 'pare²⁰ /
sarvam tad vārunam jñeyam āpas tastambhire punah // 4 //*

The Earth, mountains, clouds, and other objects that have substantial forms—the whole [world] is to be known as consisting of Water. Water, for its part, sustains [itself].

Bhṛgu does not give any explanation of the other elements.

One of the most conspicuous differences between Account I and Account II concerns Mānasa's first creation: whereas Account I holds that Mānasa first emitted Space and Water is emitted after Space, Account II states that Water was emitted first.²¹

10. Mānasa the Creator and the “Mental” Self

The following observations can be gleaned from the above analysis of the accounts of creation in the BhBhS:

- (1) Mānasa emitted the five elements, and Brahmán arose from the lotus which arises from Earth. Brahmán is considered to be the substantial form of Mānasa.
- (2) Mānasa (lit. “relating to the *manas*”) created the living beings with his *manas*, which represents creative intention in the context of cosmogony.
- (3) Brahmán is said to be the Self of all the beings (*sarvabhūtātman*) and the Creator of beings (*bhūtakṛt*).
- (4) Account II conceives that everything is made of Water.

These points indicate that MBh 12.180.22, where Bhṛgu refers to *mānasa* in his discussion of the Self, echoes the creation accounts found in MBh 12.175–176.

²⁰ For *ye 'pare*, PCE reads *ye pare* (without *avagraha*), but *apare* appears syntactically superior.

²¹ After the above cosmogony, the BhBhS relates another account of creation after the above cosmogony (Account III). Bharadvāja asks how Water, Fire, Wind, and Earth came into existence (MBh 12.176.5). Interestingly enough, Bharadvāja does not mention the production of Space. Bhṛgu then says that doubt about the origin of this world arose in Brāhmaṇa seers (MBh 12.176.6), and that Sarasvatī revealed the origin of the world to them (MBh 12.176.7–8). In the beginning, Space alone existed (MBh 12.176.9). From it, Water arose (MBh 12.176.10–12). Then Wind, Fire, and Earth arose successively (MBh 12.176.13–17). The order of the elements (Space, Water, Wind, Fire, Earth) concords with that of Account I. At the same time, by postulating Space as the primordial substratum from which the other elements are produced, Water is presented as the first entity that comes into existence. In this sense, Account III also corroborates Account II.

MBh 12.180.22

*ammayam sarvam evedam āpo mūrtih śarīriṇām /
tatrātmā mānaso brahmā sarvabhūtesu lokakṛt //*

This whole [world] consists of Water. Water is the substantial form of embodied beings. In it (*mūrti*), the Self is mental/Mānasa, Brahmán, the Creator of the world within all beings.

The idea of Water as a substratum of the world and the identification of the Creator Brahmán with the Self in this verse are based on the teaching of creation in Accounts I and II. MBh 12.180.25 also refers to the identification of the Self and the Creator, saying that the Knower of the Field (*kṣetrajña*) is the one who has set seven worlds in motion (cf. Section 5). Moreover, the concluding statement in MBh 12.180.30cd says, “This [doctrine of] Prajāpati’s creation [is taught] for ascertainment of the elements and what concerns the Self” (cf. Section 5). As Brahmán is identified with Prajāpati in MBh 12.175.34 (cf. Section 8), we can infer that MBh 12.180.30cd intends to relate the creation accounts in MBh 12.175–176 with the microcosmic discussions concerning the Self and the five elements found in MBh 12.177–180.²²

This may suggest that when Bhṛgu uses the word *mānasa* in pāda c, he not only intends the meaning of “mental,” but also its cosmological meaning, namely, Mānasa the Creator. We can infer that the BhBhS intentionally used the word *mānasa* here to allude to the identity of the Self and the Creator.

Whereas Accounts I and II regard Brahmán as the substantial form of Mānasa, suggesting some difference between the two deities, MBh 12.180.22cd uses the words *mānasah* and *brahmā* in apposition. Still, the fact that the BhBhS is the only extant text that advocates the deity named Mānasa and that the text repeatedly refers to the identification of the Creator and the Self indicates that the BhBhS purposefully uses *mānasa* for both the Self and the Creator.

How are the *mānasa* “mental” Self and Mānasa the Creator associated with each other? We have observed that there are two possible interpretations of the word *mānasa* “mental” in the context of the Self: as coinciding with the *manas* or as being insubstantial (cf. Sections 6 and 7).

Frauwallner [1925] argued that the adjective *mānasa* “mental” indicates that the Self covers the functions of the *manas* (Section 6). If we follow this interpretation, we can surmise that the BhBhS’s intention to identify the “mental”

²² Frauwallner [1953–1956. I: 131–132] remarks that the BhBhS lacks the doctrine of the world-soul like *brāhmaṇ* or *ātmaṇ* and the text adheres to the assumption of numerous souls different from each other. It is true that the BhBhS discusses *jīva* rather extensively, but at the same time, the BhBhS unmistakably identifies the Self with the Creator.

Self with Mānasa the Creator lies in validating the existence of such “mental” Self by relating it to the Creator’s desire or intention to create the worlds that the *manas* represents in the context of cosmogony.

In Section 7, the possibility of interpreting *mānasa* “mental” as “insubstantial” in contrast to “physical” or “substantial” was examined. As the Brahmán, who was born from the lotus created by Mānasa is said to be the substantial form (*mūrti*) of Mānasa, it may not be impossible to argue that Mānasa himself is devoid of any substantial form, thus stressing the subtlety of the initial state of the creation process. We could argue that by identifying the “mental” Self and Mānasa the Creator, the BhBhS relates the microcosmic process in which the mental Self governs the physical body to the macrocosmic process in which Mānasa creates the phenomenal world. However, we must admit that the text does not explicitly say so and this interpretation remains a matter of conjecture.

11. Concluding Remarks

This paper analyzed the meaning of *mānasa* in the discourses on the Self and in the creation accounts of the BhBhS. The word *mānasa* does not appear in the portion shared with the DhKS and the BhBhS (MBh 12.178, 180.23–29), and the ideas of *mānasa* Self and Mānasa the Creator were introduced in those parts that the BhBhS most likely added (MBh 12.175–177, 179.1–180.22, 30). It was demonstrated that MBh 12.180.22 attempts to connect the discussions of the mental (*mānasa*) Self in MBh 12.179–180 and the creation accounts concerning Mānasa in MBh 12.175–177.

As intricate philosophical investigations are condensed into short discourses in the BhBhS, it is not always easy to clarify the purport of the text. Instead of proposing one conclusion, the present paper examined two possible interpretations of the word *mānasa*: as coinciding with the *manas* and as being insubstantial or not physical. The first interpretation was proposed by Frauwallner [1925]. He observed that the Self is represented as functioning as the *manas* in reply to Bharadvāja’s criticism that the Self would be superfluous if the perception etc. can be explained by the *manas*. As the *manas* in creation accounts can be regarded as the Creator’s intention to produce this world, we can infer that the BhBhS’s intention to use the same designation to the Self and the Creator lies in relating the Self to the Creator by referring to the microcosmic and cosmological functions of the *manas*. Although his interpretation has a strong point in tracing its source to the Śāṇḍilya’s discourse in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, we observed that the usage of the word *mānasa* in MBh 12.180.22 does not seem to support Frauwallner’s interpretation. Alternatively, it is also possible to interpret the word *mānasa* as referring to something insubstantial, especially in contrast to the

physical body. The BhBhS occasionally refers to the distinction between the insubstantial and the substantial. Although the word *mānasa* in MBh 12.180.22 can be best understood as stressing this distinction, it is also true that when we adopt the interpretation, we cannot find any clear answer to Bharadvāja’s question concerning the relationship between the Self and the *manas*. At the cosmological level, as Brahmā is represented as the *mūrti* (substantial form) of Mānasa, in an admittedly speculative way, it may not be impossible to interpret the deity name Mānasa as suggesting the subtlety of the Creator. By identifying the mental Self and Mānasa the Creator, the BhBhS may have attempted to associate the dichotomy between the mental Self and the physical body with that between the subtle Creator and the phenomenal world.

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Abbreviations

BhBhS: *Bhṛgubharadvājasamvāda* (*Mahābhārata* 12.175–185)

DhKS: *Dharmavyādhakauśikasamvāda* (*Mahābhārata* 3.198–206)

MBh: *Mahābhārata*

PCE: Sukthankar et al. 1936–1966

TB: *Taittirīyabrahmāṇa*

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